2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Though women had few ceremonial duties of their own, the obligations of a husband often reflected on his wife, or wives, automatically, thus emphasizing the unity of the spouses. When a man was ceremonially purified, a wife went through the same ordeal mitigated only slightly because of her sex. At its end, she had the title of "ripe". Her relatives automatically shared her blessing and her danger and, to protect themselves they abstained from salt and bathed every four days. A list of affinals purified with I. 1. A. 1 is as follows: wife, wife's parents, wife's father's brother, wife's siblings in another village, with their spouses and children. The others were far away or "they would have been purified too."

Yet this close relationship depended on the birth of a child to the young couple. After that event, the new spouse was known by affinals as "father of my grandchild", "mother of my elder brother's child", etc. In the absence of a child there was no word available but "that young man" or that "young woman."

Death or divorce did not prevent the use of kinship terms, since these depended on the child, but they often broke up economic relationships and the ceremonial ties which derived from them. On the death of a spouse, the levirate and sororate might come into play and then all relationships remained unchanged. But these rules were by no means inviolable. If a wife died and her sister did not replace her, the children normally remained in the husband's home group, cared for by his parents. If a husband died, the wife returned to her own home group taking, at least, the young children. But if she were old and her sons able to care for her, she might remain where she was.

Gift giving relationships with the affinals depended on whether the widowed spouse was within geographic reach. One family group shows the dead wife's relative as being within the intimate economic circle since they had land there. (I. 5. D. E). No purification is recorded for this family so we cannot tell whether a ceremonial tie was felt also.

There is no record of gifts to geographically distant affinals after a spouse's death but relatives would, if possible, remember the children and visit them occasionally. Such children could come back for help if they failed to get any group of their own. In divorce, conditions were much the same. The woman left the man's house and probably married into a new family group so that the old economic arrangements were necessarily broken up. All her ties, economic and ceremonial, were with the new group.

These instances show that, in Papago kin behavior, sex is always important since men and women work and play in sex limited

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

some said, look at them. Nevertheless, they brought blessing to the whole household since it was unthinkable that the owner's fate should be separated from that of his family group. 422

To some extent, this blessing was general good luck but the owner of a fetish also earned food by it. The owners of the purification and the curing fetishes were all empowered to cure certain ailments and, for this work, they received their meals. "Thus you will feed yourself" was the regular encouragement given them at the purification ceremony. But the shaman had the rank of a specialist with a highly paid craft. In fact, it was paid out of proportion to all other services so that he stood alone as the one person whose income was great enough to make him independent of the family. This independence, so contrary to the social scheme, must have contributed to the fear in which the shaman was held. 422 [277] 756 465

Songs and ritual were also individual property. The owner of a dreamed song could work magic with it and receive a meal just as he would if he helped harvest a field. But he could not sell it. Such a song, to have magic, must be dreamed by the singer and people resorted to many expedients to convince themselves that they had dreamed a song. But pay was not one of them. Ritual was not dreamed but was handed down in families, the current practitioner choosing his heir from among the eligible males. Reciters of this sort of ritual had the function of priests and were not renumerated. 424 424 428

Much Papago property was destroyed and buried at a death. The house was burned if possible, but the heavy posts being hard to obtain, the thatching was sometimes burned and the posts moved. The clothing, paints and tools of the individual were buried with him, also food and water and as much more equipment as could be spared. A man might have a buckskin and a woman a jar or two. Fetishes and shaman's equipment were not buried but kept by the family. 768 764

Arrangements have been changed in recent years since the Papago have owned more property. The house, now of wattle and daub, is never destroyed but those who keep to the old customs at all, often bury large amounts of property with the corpse, buying new saddles, clothes and canned goods for the purpose. A man's horse, which had something the status of a tool that he used, was often killed at the grave, though not now.

Cattle are considered family property and distributed to the children. They should, logically, be mens' goods, since their care belongs entirely to the men but modern life has brought no corresponding womens' goods and, in the instances known to the writer daughters have received cattle as well as sons. But customs, in this 768 428

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

768 428 case, are still in process of formation. Wagons and farm tools, sewing machine and kitchen range, are family tools, in the same status as, formerly, the stone axe and the rope twister, the pots and baskets. They used to be distributed, by informal arrangement, men's tools to men, womens' tools to women. But the added value of present day tools causes disagreement which must finally lead to some form of testament.

LAND

423 The essential interest of a family was in the land which had been cleared and ditched by its men and whose use was, therefore, regarded as a perpetual right. An agricultural settlement was known simply as the Fields, the flimsy houses being secondary and these Fields had generally been discovered and settled by a family group. The place chosen was in the flat plain where a wash, rushing down from the mountains, finally lost its momentum, ceased to cut a channel and spread its waters over the level land for a square mile or more. The clay, soaked by the standing water, furnished the planting ground while the houses were placed on some slight elevation away from the flood.

The group of settlers distributed the fields among their households, choosing a leader to oversee the process. If they were only a few, any older man might take charge. A larger group elected a leader who must ultimately be approved by the leader of the home village. Under his direction, the group held a meeting and parcelled out the flood plain into plots of two or three acres. At the beginning, there was usually more than enough for all since the Papago planted very little wheat and all they needed was a garden patch for corn, beans and pumpkins. The writer, on inquiring how all could be accomodated so easily, has often been told: "But you don't know how small our fields were. There was more than enough."

Each family head received a field which would serve for himself and his sons and he marked its corners with large stones or stakes. These were frequently washed away and then there were boundary difficulties but most Papago denied that they resulted in quarreling. "They just talked together and put the marks back." However the writer has seen clowns at the harvest feast, mimicking farm life and surreptitiously moving boundary stones. If there were a [627] dispute it is acknowledged that the parties went to the governor, who generally reconciled them by common sense and moral suasion. If one of them insisted that he needed more land, the governor suggested that he go further out and dig a new field.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

765 Still, those who were not afraid went occasionally to the grave, sometimes taking food. Bodies tended to mummify in the dry air and could be seen through the chinks in the masonry looking as in life. One Mexicanized woman told of going for years to look at her dead husband with his red sash and his violin. Another married a second husband and, when she still kept dreaming of the first, the second went to the grave and threatened him: "Leave her alone or else I will dig you up and burn your bones!"

765 177 There is a yearly festival of feeding the dead, which is now thoroughly amalgamated with the Christian feast of All Souls, but which has some likeness to the Aztec custom of sending property to the dead by burning once a year for four years.[1]

766 The feeding and gifts for the dead applied only to those who had been buried. Those who had died on the warpath or at home, from enemy wounds, were cremated, without ceremony. Only purified Enemy Slayers were competent to touch the corpse or his effects, because "it would make them sick". The officiants followed no ritual. They placed the weapons with the body, piled what wood they could find over and under it and burned it as quickly as possible. The kindred wailed but not at the cremation site, "because they were afraid."

Cremation was definitely for the purpose of destroying enemy magic, for it did not take place after accidental shooting at the hunt, nor after murder by a fellow Papago. Only enemy wounds made it necessary. That the enemy need not always be the Apache, is shown by a Spanish account which relates how, when a Jesuit priest was killed by revolting "Pimas" his friendly parishioners burned his body; "this burning is the manner in which the Pimas treat their dead whom they most esteem".[2] It was not the heroism but the enemy magic which necessitated the burning.

766 172 The Hohokam, or ancient inhabitants of Papagueria, habitually burned their dead and kept the ashes in jars. If the Papago, as Gladwin[3] suggests are degenerate remains of this ancient culture, their habit of cremation in this one respect, might be a survival of the former practice. But it might equally well be related to the custom of the Aztecs, who disposed of their dead by cremation or burial, according to the manner of death.[4]

●768 Immediately after a death of any kind, the family pulled down the house to prevent its being visited by ghosts. The house was a

[1] Sahagun, Seler p. 297.
[2] Velarde section 3, p. 145.
[3] Gladwin 1929.
[4] Sahagun, Seler, pp. 300, 301, 298, 299.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

flimsy affair and this destruction was probably an aid to sanitation. But the four mesquite posts of the frame work were hard to come by so they were generally moved and a new house built around them. There are traditions of bereaved families who threw away all their property or burned it, after the Mohave fashion, but most people denied this. "We couldn't have lived. We were too poor" (11). But if there had been many deaths in succession, the family left everything but what they could carry on their backs and went to seek asylum with distant relatives. It was thought better to leave the fields to others while they were so ghost ridden.

Women, in mourning, cut their hair to the neck, men to the shoulders. Hair should be buried at a distance, out of reach of animals but since it was such valuable property, there were some who ventured to use it for hair ropes. Used in a carrying basket, one old woman stated, it even brought luck. Those who had not lost a spouse wailed for the ritual four days and then went about their occupations but widows and widowers must mourn longer. A widow, in the very ancient times, wore nothing but a breechclout and went unpainted for a year, after which she might marry again. A widower went unpainted and his period of mourning was thought by most to be a year but one man said he could marry after four days. "A woman could work and take care of herself for a year, but a man needed some one to work for him" (1).

If the husband had died, the wife might marry one of his younger siblings but otherwise she went back to her family group. Very young children who needed her care, she would take with her, but older ones would be left to be brought up in her husband's group, probably by his mother. An elderly widow often remained in the adopted group, with her sons to support her. But there is one example of such a woman who returned, with all her grown sons, because her home field was better (I. 1. A 3). At the end of the mourning period, if she were of marriageable age, her family found her another husband. Children of her first husband were likely to be sent back to his family group, but if that was inconvenient, they stayed with her parents. She rarely took them into the new home.

If the wife died, the children remained in the husband's group, cared for by his mother or one of his brothers' wives. If he had been satisfactory, he might be given one of the wife's classificatory younger sisters. Otherwise he took a new wife and the children of the former one remained with his mother.

The souls of the dead went to the east, escorted by their ancestors, who came for the dying man in the shape of owls. This was true whether they had died of illness or of enemy wounds. The soul

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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I took my little girl with me when we went to dance and sing for the River People. Every year or two we went, we three or four villages that were relatives.

Once we went to The Spring, and Begging for Yucca Fruit made the songs. Then we went to Sacaton and my father made them. The River People came to us, too, and we all went and camped at the village where they were to sing. They sang at Mesquite Root, my father's village, and he put into the singer's hands cow manure and horse manure. That meant he would give them a cow and a horse. Then we went to the Narrow Place and held a great harvest festival, and my husband was one of the singers. A good time we had, roaming over the land.

Once, when my husband and I were away working, word came that my father was sick. All the family came back to Mesquite Root, but the medicine man could not help him. We all began to cry, right then: "Haya, my father!" "Haya, my elder brother!" "Haya, my husband!" It is a sort of tune. We cried all night, but he died.

We did not bury him in a cave in the rocks as our people used to do. We had been up and down to Mexico, and had seen the priests and learned many things. We laid him down and dug a grave. We dressed him in clothes, a good shirt and trousers and sandals and a red headband around his hair. We gave him a blanket and pillow, too, for the grave. Because he was an Enemy Slayer his face was painted, black to the nose and white below. His younger brother did that, for he was an Enemy Slayer, too, and had the right.

All the men of our family dug the grave, and then carried him out and put him there. They put in his blanket and pillow, because we did not sleep on mats any more. And his leather pouch, they put in, and the sticks he had for games and his bow and arrows and his good quiver of wild cat skin. Then his brother spoke: "We put you here. Stay and don't come back to frighten us." My mother said: "Make yourself at home. Be happy. Don't come back to break up my good dreams." She was crying. Then we called him again. "Haya, my father!" "Haya, my elder brother!" "Haya, my husband!"

All the relatives called him. After that, we never said his name, José Maria. When we talked about him we said my father-gone, my elder brother-gone, my husband-gone. To hear the name would make us feel too bad. And nobody ever said that name to us because my brothers would get angry.

We divided his horses, and my sister and I each got two. My brothers and my mother got more. My brothers took the house down and moved

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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it. Then they put it up again in another place but still at Mesquite Root where they had always lived. There my mother lived and they with her. She said to them: "I didn't bring you up to have you go off with some woman. If you were girls, I would let you go. But since you are men, this is where you should stay. If some woman loves you and falls against you, bring her home. She can cook for me." So they married and brought their wives home. I have many grandchildren from those brothers.

I went back to Where the Water Whirls Around. We lived better there because we had more horses and my husband went often to sing for the sick. People gave him clothes for that singing, and we all had clothes then, not just something tied around our waists. And all the men had trousers instead of breech clouts. My husband and I built a house next door to his family. Shining Evening built one, too, and lived there alone. She used to cook beans and tortillas and have good food there. When my father-in-law died, my mother-in-law lived in that house with Shining Evening, and he was both a son and a daughter, only he was often away, drunk.

There were white men here and there on our land by that time, as there never had been. So our men began to learn to drink that whiskey. It was not a thing that you must drink only once a year like our cactus cider. You could drink it any time, with no singing and no speeches, and it did not bring rain. Men grew crazy when they drank that whiskey and they had visions. My husband did not drink. He had his visions. He said that a good man must get them as he and my father had, by suffering. But Shining Evening got very crazy. She would flirt and laugh with the men more than ever, throw gravel at them and slap their faces. Many names the men got from Shining Evening, for that is how our men got most of their nicknames.

She gave to her brother, Thundering Wings, the nickname of Skirt-string. Shining Evening was the first of us women to make a skirt that was sewed up and had a draw string. Her brother pulled it out and said: "Hey! What's this!" She giggled and said in her funny high voice: "Skirt-string! Skirt-string!" So everybody called him that. Some men wanted to buy the name, it was so funny.

I was much with Shining Evening and the women in those days because my husband was away. People would send for him from far across the desert, and he would go and sing for many nights. Then on other nights he would come to me looking strange and say: "I am going to hunt rabbits." I knew it was not rabbits, but no woman questions her husband among our people. So I lay alone on my mat, thinking that, perhaps, just now my husband was with Coyote. I wondered what the Comrade would say to him,

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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mission was needed to develop and farm a new piece of land. There was no private ownership of wild plants on either cultivated or undeveloped land. In developing a new piece of ground, mesquite or sahuaro trees, because of their fruit, were never removed, but such trees were regarded as common property and any person might pick the fruit.

Destruction of Property at Death

Unlike Mohave, the Pima, and especially Papago, could not afford to destroy all their property and goods on the occasion of death in the family; nevertheless, a considerable amount of Pima and Papago property was so destroyed. Usually the Papago house, excepting posts, was burned and most, if not all, of the individual's personal equipment buried with him. Cattle and crops, regarded as family property, were distributed among the children. Occasionally families died out, whereupon the Council, on request, reassigned their land. In the case of a number of successive deaths, the surviving members of a family group often deserted the land to prevent it, like the house, from being visited by ghosts. Since ghosts influenced only relatives, other persons might take over the land, but only by permission of the family, who always retained the right to reoccupy it if desired.[35] Our Pima informants asserted that in historic times when a man died and left a crop standing in the field, word was passed around to the neighbors to turn their horses into it. The reason was that the dead man's relatives wanted to see everything he possessed or had accomplished in his lifetime go with him. In this connection Grossmann[36] wrote, in 1871, that the Pima custom of destroying all the property of the husband at his death impoverished the widow and children.

[35] Underhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-1.
[36] Grossmann, *loc. cit.*

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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boy's parents until one or two children had been born, when they erected a hut nearby.

Death was little solemnized by the Papagos. Fearing that the spirit of the dead would drag with him his loved ones, they bestowed the corpse as quickly as possible in a crevice in the rocks leaving with it food, drink, and possessions, and adjuring it not to come back to frighten the living. Often they burned the house to discourage such visitations, and many of them, like the California Indians, never mentioned the name of the dead.

Papago life appears to be barren of material for ceremony but these wandering people, nevertheless, developed an elaborate system of observances. Their art impulse, deprived of opportunity for costumes and paraphernalia, expressed itself in song and poetry. Their ceremonies were based upon a long myth, describing the origin of all things. In this myth the People were brought up from underground by their leader, Elder Brother. They marched conquering through the country where Casa Grande now stands, driving out the old inhabitants, the Hohokam, or All-Gone-People. In the course of their adventures, there arose all the needs which later beset Papago life: the need for rain, for corn, for venison, for the taking of scalps, and the curing of disease. As each need arose, Elder Brother met it by leading the People in action and by singing a song. These songs, which punctuate the narrative at all its dramatic points, are often charmingly lyrical and descriptive. Moreover, they constituted Papago magic for all time to come. Ceremonies consisted in the singing of these songs, with appropriate dances and oratory. The mere singing was thought to produce the desired result, whatever it might be.

The Papago year was filled with such ceremonies.[2] In July, just before the rainy season, the fruit of the giant cactus *(Carnegia gigantea)* was fermented and drunk, with singing, dancing, and oratory.

2. This section on songs and ceremonies has been abstracted from *Papago Songs and Ceremonies* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).